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CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
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OFFICIAL HISTORY
 OF THE
 BAY OF PIGS OPERATION

VOLUME III
EVOLUTION OF CIA'S
ANTI-CASTRO POLICIES,
1951-JANUARY 1961
 (pages 204-388)

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December 1979

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Volume III

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Part V

Direct Action Programs

A. Propaganda

The desire of WH Division to undertake the propaganda operation against the government of Fidel Castro, antedated the formation of Branch 4 in the Division by more than two months; for on 27 October 1959 in a Memorandum to the Director of Central Intelligence, J. C. King proposed:

That CIA undertake clandestine propaganda operations targeted at Cuba. These operations would employ primarily radio broadcasts and other means of propaganda, and at informing the Cuban masses of the truth. 1/

Col. King's memorandum pointed out that representatives of various of the Cuban opposition groups organized in the United States had requested Agency assistance to set up propaganda operations directed against the Cuban mainland, and, in addition, he also indicated that he and the Director of Communications, Gen. McClelland, had his people studying the best methods for carrying out such propaganda broadcasts.

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King's initial memorandum contained no information about potential locations of transmitters, personnel security, inter-Agency coordination or costs.

Almost immediately following the memorandum from Col. King to the Director, the subject of propaganda directed against the Castro government was introduced to discussions in the Special Group. Following the first such meeting at which the subject came up seriously, the DCI requested that WH Division provide more specifics on such matters as requirements for real estate, recommendations for someone to be in charge of the propaganda operations, the equipment that would be required, and how the broadcasting might be controlled. By mid-November, following additional discussions both within the Agency and by the Special Group, WH Division proposed that the broadcasts originate from [' 10] under the guidance of Manuel Benitez, and from [' 11] under the Monte Cristi Group, headed by Col. Ramon Barquin. The presumption was that the [' 10] operation would be self-sufficient, but that the [' 11] operation would be CIA funded, supported, and directly under Agency control. The estimated costs that were mentioned in

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mid-November 1959 were roughly \$80,000 each for the operations in [11] and [10], plus an additional \$12,000 for intrusion broadcasts which would originate within Cuba. 2/

Before the end of November, the plans to utilize [10] had been abandoned because it was feared that [8] would not give his approval for such an activity; and by the early part of December, [6, 11] had made it clear that he did not want the propaganda operation to be set up in [11]. Consequently, there was considerable discussion about the possibility of getting permission from [6, 11] to agree to permit the broadcasts from his country. Some members of the Special Group also suggested the possibility that the anti-Castro broadcasts might be originated from other of the Latin American countries, a project which Mr. Dulles discouraged because of the lack of suitable broadcast facilities that would be available in countries outside of the immediate Caribbean area. Somewhere along the line C. Tracy Barnes, the ADDP/A and Mr. Bissell's right hand man, came up with the

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suggestion that broadcasts against Castro could be originated from continental United States. How Barnes came by this proposal is not known, for no such activity was ever given the slightest sanction. 3/

By early February of 1960, however, an equivocal agreement apparently had been reached with [6], for a memorandum from WH Division indicated that:

One pilot [anti-Castro] tape has been made and has been played for the benefit of [6, 11]. He has agreed not to interfere if we initiate broadcasts from available transmitters in [11]. 4/

Even though thought had been given to the establishment of a special transmitting facility for the Frente Revolucionario Democratico (FRD), or whoever would run the anti-Castro broadcasts, [6] had made it clear that he would not permit the establishment of special new transmitting facilities in his country.

On or about 17 March 1960, the same date that President Eisenhower approved the formal anti-Castro program for the US Government, JMATE had prepared its propaganda program which, after outlining various phases of the activity, stated:

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It is planned to concentrate all capabilities available to the U.S. Government on the [Cuban] target. In addition, it will be necessary for CIA to create such unilateral, FRD, and third country operations as may be feasible and useful. All facets of psychological operations will be exploited through mass media means, including: radio, television, motion pictures, press and publications, books, leaflets, posters, handbills, and rumors. The major emphasis will be placed on gray materials. Liaison will be conducted as necessary with other U.S. Government agencies. Black operations will be carefully coordinated within CIA prior to implementation. All direct dealings with members of the FRD will be under unofficial cover. 5/

The outline of the propaganda program made it clear that funding of the propaganda operation was going to be a major problem, and it was also clear that CIA was going to be responsible for a considerable portion of this. But even as the propaganda program was being formulated, Col. J. C. King was in New York working with Henry Holland to approach a number of American businessmen whose companies had interests in Cuba. Their objective was to raise funds to support the FRD propaganda operations which might be operated through Station WRUL in New York, a station that was directed by Mr. Walter Lemon who worked closely with the CIA. Lemon, in fact, was ready to

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mount radio program operations almost immediately pending receipt of material and guidance from the Agency.* 6/

With reference to King's approach to [6, 29], the businessman stated that he would contribute his personal funds to the anti-Castro propaganda effort; and in addition, he would approach the directors or heads of other companies that were also involved in Cuba -- individuals whom he thought were well enough off to make personal contributions. With reference to contributions of this nature:

It was decided that personal contributions were most advisable because they would not require action and approval by Boards of Directors, and therefore could be most easily concealed. The sum discussed was \$50,000.** 7/

The plan for private funding of WRUL was in trouble from the start. As early as April 1960, Chief

* Among those that Col. King met with on 15 March 1960, were [6, 29]

** Other companies, including [6, 29] and [29], made donations in the company names and the Agency notified the Commissioner of Internal Revenue about the donations so that they could be treated as corporate tax deductions. 7a/

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WH/4 had requested Chief, WHD's permission to obligate JMATE funds for support of the station; but Chief, WHD refused, indicating that private money would be available. In October 1960 a similar proposal was made and rejected for the same reasons. By December 1960, however, payment from JMATE funds was authorized because private funds were unavailable. 7b/

In terms of the broadcast facilities that were to be established under the propaganda program, CIA was to create and control both short and medium wave shipborne radio broadcasting operations, and to investigate the feasibility of an airborne radio transmitter capable of black broadcasts into Cuba.* Aside from the broadcast operations, there were a number of additional programs calling for printing facilities for the production of propaganda materials and secure

* The airborne medium wave transmitter apparently was ruled out early in the planning stages because it was "a terribly expensive operation." Based on DPD's estimates, Phillips figured that three flights per week to six selected Cuban cities -- among others, Havana, Santiago and Cienfuegos -- over a two month period would show operating costs in excess of \$83,000, plus an additional \$60,000 for transmitting equipment on a C-54, and a cost of \$250,000 if the C-54 were lost. 7c/

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editorial offices so that the propaganda materials could be prepared. 8/

It was shortly after the formulation of the propaganda program that David A. Phillips became Chief of the WH/4 Propaganda Activity. Phillips had done propaganda work for the Agency at the time of the Guatemalan activity, but subsequently retired and had been in private business in Havana. According to his own story, he had intended to stay in private business; but in the course of Castro's rise to power, he was recontacted by Agency personnel and persuaded to take on the job of running the Agency's propaganda campaign against Castro.*

According to one interviewer:

In the Guatemalan campaign, Phillips had worked with a handful of completely controlled Latin American propaganda writers, and had been able to develop a single credible propaganda line. Now, however, he had to work under Washington orders, to offer radio broadcasting time to all the major and competing Cuban exile groups. Much of the Phillips'

* For Phillips' own story of his employment and his re-employment by the Agency, see his book *The Night Watch* (New York: Atheneum, 1977).

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effort went into overcoming the idea that CIA financed radio programs should become a forum for the varying views of rival exile splinter factions. Phillips was principally in Washington ... [but] there were frequent trips to Miami and New York, and Phillips himself coordinated CIA covert broadcasting with Henry Loomis, Director of USIA's Voice of America. 9/

All indications are that Phillips had an excellent staff which was highly motivated and certainly extremely busy during the course of the Bay of Pigs Operation.*

The key point in Dave Phillips's propaganda operation was to be the 50,000 watt radio transmitter located on the larger of the two Swan Islands -- this so called "larger" island being roughly 1 3/4 miles long by 1 1/4 miles wide. US possessions, the Swan Islands are located roughly 100 miles NE of Honduras in the Caribbean Sea. Already located on the island was a Federal Aviation radio beacon, and a Department of Commerce weather station. In April 1960, the cover story which was devised for the

* Among those who worked in Phillips's Political and Psychological Section in WH/4, were William Kent, John Isaminger, Phillip A. Toomey, Earnest I. Harrison, Paul Oberst, and Michael J. Maney. 10/ Illustrative of the desire to placate the various exile factions was the proposal by the Forward Operations Base to give the spokesmen of the factions air time on WRUL on a rotating basis to present the position of the particular group. FOB was to assume responsibility for WRUL programming on 1 December 1960, and was of the opinion that such programming would "have desired effect on creating semblance [of] united anti Castro opposition." 10a/

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operation of the two radio transmitters (one 50,000 watts and the other 7,500 watts) was that the Navy was going to purchase scientific signal time from the Gibraltar Steamship Company, an Agency proprietary, which was nominally the operator of a commercial radio station then being established.

The loading of the transmitters, the unloading, the construction of the facilities to house the transmitters, and the installation of the transmitters was done by the Navy Seabees under the direction of Alfred Cromartie of CIA's Office of Logistics. James Burwell, a logistics officer who was thoroughly involved in the JMATE operation, reported that the construction activity at Swan Island required the movement of 180,000 pounds of equipment from [10

] aboard Agency trucks for delivery to Norfolk and the reloading aboard two LST's. In addition to locating the transmitters and constructing the facilities for housing the transmitters, a crude landing field also was cleared. The total time involved was approximately 20 days, and the cost was something under \$225,000.

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The first test signals from Swan Island were sent on 17 May 1960, and from that time until the close out of the Bay of Pigs Operation, the station was one of the two or three principal voices aimed at Castro's government. 11/ Shortly after the initiation of the broadcast from Swan, a true tempest in teapot was brewed over the question of whether or not export licences were going to be required for goods moving from the mainland to support operations at Swan Island. Involved in this brouhaha were the Department of Commerce, the US Customs Service, and numerous Agency components -- Cover Staff, Commercial Division, the Office of Logistics, and the Office of Security. Bill Eisemann, WH/4's Chief of Support, had his hands full! Common sense ultimately prevailed and the question of export licences was dropped. 12/

Even before Swan went into operation, there was some question within the government as to whether the CIA or the United States Information Agency should be principally responsible for propaganda broadcasts directed at Cuba. Within a few weeks following the beginning of operations at Swan, this question was resolved in a meeting in Senator Mundt's office which

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included representatives from the Agency, Mr. Abbot Washburn, the Director of the United States Information Agency, and various of Mr. Washburn's senior people. The meeting made clear that the Agency was doing medium wave broadcasting directly into Cuba. Although it was not specified at the meeting in Mundt's office, CIA also was supporting station WRUL, which had made a direct application on its own initiative for funding such broadcasts -- even though the Agency was behind such broadcasting and such financing. 14/

The Navy, however, got goosey about the cover story which was being presented. Despite a strong effort on the part of senior Agency representatives to convince Rear Admiral S. B. Frankel -- who was designated as the Chief representative of the Office of Naval Intelligence by Admiral Fauste, then Director of ONI -- the Navy declined further involvement in supporting the cover story.* The hassle with the

* The thrust of the Agency's 27 April 1960 briefing for Adm. Frankel was that the USN was already so heavily involved in the project that it would do them more harm than good to withdraw. Information on this meeting with the Navy and other information pertaining to the development of the Swan Island facility is contained in the sources listed under Reference 14/.

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Navy was successfully resolved when the Agency found that through its own resources it would be able to provide for resupply of all of the Island's needs, including transportation of personnel between JMWAWE in Florida and Swan Island without undue difficulty.

The problem of security of the island -- particularly the fear that perhaps Castro would send saboteurs to the island -- was never put to any real test. In fact, what might have been the only serious security incident was most successfully resolved by [3

2], the Security Officer for the island and the Deputy Chief of Base. The incident took place in July 1960 when a group of 14 Honduran students landed to assert a claim to sovereignty of the Swan Islands by the Republic of Honduras, and it was reported as follows:

A potentially dangerous situation was averted by the tactful handling of the group by Mr. [3] who persuaded them to leave their armament of 13 pistols and three submachine guns aboard their boat and conducted them on a tour of the island. The group leader indicated that he wanted to take a census of the population, and was furnished with pertinent information, with no divulgence of Agency interest in Radio Swan or its personnel. Upon completion of the census, the group was permitted to raise the Honduran flag, was given lunch

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and refreshments, and departed shortly thereafter. The good judgment and discretion of Mr. C 3 are felt to be directly responsible for avoidance of what could have been a serious incident involving loss of lives, or injury to Agency and other island personnel.* 15/

The question of the exact nature of the broadcasts from Swan was the subject of much discussion, both prior to the opening of the station and subsequent to its first broadcast. The Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, for example, called Jake Esterline, Chief, Project JMATE to report on conversation that he (General Cabell) had with "a person of considerable importance who was very familiar with Cuba," concerning the nature of the propaganda which should be aimed at the Cuban population. Cabell stated that according to this important person, if tapes of Castro's radio broadcasts could be acquired and then patched together for rebroadcasting to the Cuban population for hours on end, the effect would be "to bore the people horribly with Castro, but would

* The island was manned by 24 people, all but nine of whom were CIA personnel. The nine were unwitting technicians of the Philco Corporation.

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also pointedly reveal the inconsistencies of his statements." Following receipt of this call from the Deputy Director, Esterline passed the word on to Dave Phillips with the comment that he thought perhaps such broadcasts might be used as filler during the intervals when Swan was not doing its regular broadcasts.* 16/

By early August 1960, however, the official policy for the Swan propaganda broadcasts aimed at Cuba, was to be "the Revolution Betrayed." This theme was formalized by the Department of State; and at the direction of the Secretary of State, copies of a 105 page document addressed to this theme were presented to members of the National Security Council, to members of the Inter-American Peace Committee, and to US Embassies in the Latin American countries.

* COS Havana forwarded another suggestion for a possible propaganda attack on Castro based on a May 1960 issue of *Confidential* magazine, which apparently carried an article called "An American Mother's Terrifying Story -- Fidel Castro Raped my Teenage Daughter." It was COS Havana's suggestion that wide publicity be given to this article in the Spanish language, presumably including broadcasts from Radio Swan. 17/ Available records do not indicate whether this suggestion was adopted.

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Instructions were that the Embassies could furnish copies of the document to the foreign ministers and to other high officials in their respective countries. Additionally, the NATO Council also received a copy of this document; and it was the hope of the Department of State that the document would have some impact on the upcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Western Hemisphere countries, which was to begin 16 August 1960 in San Jose, Costa Rica. According to one interview of WH/4's propaganda chief, Dave Phillips, the theme of the Revolution Betrayed

Hammered across the idea that Castro had double-crossed the Cuban people by abandoning the programs and promises that originally won him support. None of CIA's propaganda, spoken or printed, ever urged the populace to rise up against Castro. This appeal, suicidal before the invasion, would be used when, and if, a Provisional Government obtained a lodgement on the island. 18/

According to Phillips's interviewer:

Friendly third country diplomats in Havana monitored CIA's principal broadcasts and confirmed that the signals were loud and clear. To verify its audience the Swan Island radio offered simple gifts (ball point pens were a favorite) to any listener who would write to the station. Considering the police controls inside Cuba, listeners' letters were an act of defiance to the regime. There was a

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a flood of letters including, during
 freak radio propagation periods, re-
 quests for ball point pens from New
 Zealand.* 19/

Another evidence of the success of the Swan broadcasts
 was related to the Director of Central Intelligence by
 Col. King, Chief, WH Division, who pointed out that WH
 had a copy of a letter from a Cuban listener who, in
 the form of a letter bitterly attacking Swan, made it
 clear that the Swan broadcasts were coming in loud and
 clear. 21/

Before the end of the summer of 1960, Swan was
 on the air on both short-wave and medium-wave for a
 total of 10 hours a day, in addition to which they
 also began to utilize programs that had been prepared
 by the FRD. One problem which would plague Radio Swan
 -- as well as other elements of Project JMARC -- was
 the shortage of Spanish language capability. Among

* It appears that perhaps baseball cards also were
 going to be offered as an inducement to get listeners
 to indicate that they had picked up Swan's broadcast.
 A propaganda note from WH/4 for 9 August 1960, for
 example, reported: "M[aney] spoke to [3]
 Special Acquisitions. He has contacted a company
 making baseball cards who claim 'this most unusual
 order ever received.' Will get cards, but curious
 what was wrong with bubble gum." 20/

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other evidence of the need to have someone with Spanish language capability immediately available at Radio Swan, were the following: A machine-run of Agency employees failed to surface anyone with sufficient Spanish language to undertake an announcer's job; inability to exploit the fatal shooting of a Venezuelan child by a pro-Castro goon, could not be turned to US advantage; and by mid-November 1960 WH Division was requesting that a requirement be laid on to the Department of Defense for a serviceman with native fluency in Spanish who could be used as an announcer at Radio Swan.*

* In the instance of the death of the Venezuelan child, the pro-Castro Cuban press was able to get the story out before it could be broadcast from Radio Swan. The pro-Castro press claimed that the death had been caused by a counter-revolutionary. (Sources for the foregoing discussion related to the lack of Spanish language capability are listed in reference 22/.)

The lack of Spanish language capability was felt throughout the project, not only in the propaganda effort. As late as January 1961, for example, the training facility in the Canal Zone was pushing Headquarters for the services for a two week period of an Air Force sergeant who was fluent in Spanish. The training base wanted the sergeant to assist in briefing and debriefing an infiltration team. The request was denied, however, because there was a greater need for the man's services as an instructor at the air training base in Guatemala. 22a/ In another instance, a request from COB Miami for promotion of a clerical from GS-4 to GS-5 was based on the fact that "her services as a translator have been of the greatest importance to the Base since her arrival." 22b/

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Despite the handicap imposed by the lack of Spanish language capability at the Station, Radio Swan was the most effective of the propaganda activities supported by the Agency; and with Station WRUL, New York, these Agency-sponsored radio broadcasts were the most effective means of providing the general Cuban population with anti-Castro ammunition. Additionally radio propaganda -- via both short and medium wave transmitters -- was to play an important role immediately following the landing of the anti-Castro forces on Cuban soil. 23/

Aside from radio broadcasts, other media activities in which WH/4 PP engaged were the newspaper *Avance in Exile* and the magazine *Bohemia Libre*. Both of these were published in Miami by the exile groups, and at one time *Bohemia Libre* was reputedly the most widely circulated Spanish language weekly in the world. Although barred in Cuba, selected items from both publications were broadcast by Swan or WRUL. 23a/

One of the strangest of all activities in which WH/4 PP engaged was a public opinion survey conducted by the Lloyd Free organization to assess the attitudes of the Cuban people toward the Castro regime. If WH/4's

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planners expected that the survey would show a strong core of internal opposition to the Castro government, they were to be sadly disappointed. Working with "a competent Cuban research organization" Free's report was based on a series of a thousand interviews with a cross section of the urban population of Cuba "both in Havana and in other cities, towns, and villages throughout the island." Among the findings of the Free survey, the following comments were included in the summary report of mid-August of 1960:

The great majority of Cubans surveyed felt that both they personally and their country were very much better off than during the days of Batista. *The prevailing mood was one of hope and optimism.*

Attesting the apparently genuine enthusiasm of the great majority for the Revolution, the Castro Government and its program were the replies when the sample was asked about the *worst* aspects of life in Cuba today. Despite the fact that this question was designed to illicit unfavorable comments, *a very sizable majority named as the worst aspects of the present situation items which implied sympathy or support for the present regime.* At the top of the list (mentioned by one-third of all respondents) was regret or apprehension over the fact that there is opposition to the Revolution and to the Revolutionary regime; [and] that there are misguided counter-revolutionaries and reactionaries.

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Even in describing the worst aspects of the present situation, only 30% of all respondents mentioned items which could be construed as criticisms, explicit or implicit, of the Castro regime. Only a few such subjects received significant mention, with each being referred to by only a small minority of total respondents: e.g., the danger of or trend toward Communism (7%); criticism of the Revolution's program (7%); economic difficulties (7%); unemployment (6%); confusion and disorganization (5%).

In view of the overwhelming popularity of the Revolutionary program, it is patently clear that *criticisms of Castro's program, as such, will fall very largely on barren, if not counter-productive ground.*

The only positive statements that appeared in the Free report, insofar as the objectives of WH/4 were concerned, were to the effect that successful attack on the Castro Government should be made in terms of the inability of the government to meet the projects it had outlined because of "the unwise and unrealistic means it is employing in the execution of its program"; and "the Revolution and its program are being perverted through the insidious influence of the Communists."*

* The information concerning the Free report, is contained in source reference 24/.

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It is interesting to record the reaction within the Agency to the Free report:

C/JMARC lamented the fact that the Lloyd Free report evidently has gotten into the hands of the Cuban Government and will probably be used with devastating effect at some point during the meeting [the upcoming OAS Conference scheduled for San Jose, Costa Rica]. He told ADDP/A that he felt the Department of State would have to be prepared to sacrifice Mr. Free's report on the proverbial "alter of gold." The point was made strongly to ADDP/A that the Free report, in fact, is not at all valid other than for a limited "sample" of the City of Habana. ADDP/A agreed, but said he did not think State should be made aware of the fact CIA actually paid for the report. He further indicated that he was still endeavoring to find out how the report -- copy of which CIA never received in full -- got out of control.* 25/

The substance of the Free Report appeared in the *New York Times* and also in a Peter Edson column which was reported to be syndicated in 600 newspapers. In passing this information on to the DDP, Chief, WH/4 suggested that "the survey, in the opinion of WH/4

* Chief, WH/4 apparently misread the significance of the Free report because, as the report points out, the most serious opposition was, in fact, in the Havana area, which included the heaviest sampling of opposition sentiment.

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Prop, will be used in Cuban propaganda" -- something of an understatement! * 26/

* Logic would seem to indicate that if WH/4's principals could not subscribe to the results of Free survey's that WH/4/PP might have been tasked to make a serious study of the impact which Castro's propaganda and his achievements were having on the will of the Cuban public to resist outside interference. In an interview with the author of this history, Dave Phillips stated that Enno Hobbing had provided the editorial guidance for WH/4's propaganda efforts; but that to his (Phillips's) knowledge, no study ever was conducted of the Castro propaganda effort. In retrospect, Phillips indicated that this probably was an oversight. 27/

On the subject of surveys of questionable value during the Bay of Pigs Operation, mention should be made of a contract JMATE negotiated with Klein and Saks

to initiate a survey of Cuba's present [May 1960] economic position that will also contain an outline of proposals that would sound [*sic*] as a platform for a successor government to the Castro regime. The cost, which will be borne by JMARC, will be about \$20,000. This is merely the first phase of the projected comprehensive economic program.

Why, with CIA's in-house economic talent (in the Economic Research Area of the Office of Research and Reports) and the surfeit of government economists familiar with Latin America, WH/4 thought it necessary to negotiate an outside contract for a study such as indicated is truly incomprehensible! That the Klein and Saks contract was not blocked at the DDP or DCI level is equally incomprehensible. The company's "Preliminary Outline of Economic and Financial Government Platform to Serve the Interests of the People of Cuba and to be Compatible with the Interest of the Hemisphere and the Free World of Which Cuba is a Part" -- which was presented in typescript -- was 15 pages of platitudes about the best of all possible worlds. 28/

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WH/4 PP also became involved in the propaganda activity that was intended to offset the planned visit of Nikita Khrushchev to Cuba in the summer of 1960. In an Eyes Only memorandum to the Director of Central Intelligence, Col. J. C. King informed Allen Dulles that it had been learned that Khrushchev had accepted an invitation from the Government of Cuba to visit that country. Working with Havana Station, a two-pronged program was being developed with the intention of either forcing the cancellation of the trip or indicating the opposition of the Cuban people to Communism. Havana Station was to be responsible for organizing church opposition to the visit, and WH/4 and other elements of WH Division would be responsible for instigating rumors throughout Latin America that an assassination attempt would be made on Khrushchev's life if he appeared in Cuba.

One of the WH/4's contacts suggested that leaflets should be prepared depicting the crucifix upside down, to signify the Soviet treatment of religion, and that these leaflets should be distributed widely through Cuba. 29/ There is no indication that this particular leaflet was ever devised, but in at least

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one instance, the Hammer and Sickle was used to form the 'T' in the word *Traidor* on a sticker that was being prepared for propaganda use. 30/ In anticipation of the possible visit, 10,000 stickers of an anti-Khrushchev, anti-Soviet nature were forwarded from Headquarters to Havana Station. The legend on one of these was "Cuba, Yes; Russia, No; Khrushchev, No;" and a second item showed a prisoner behind bars formed by the stripes of the Cuban flag with the words *Sin Palabras* -- "Without words."* 31/

Despite these advanced preparations, no opportunity was presented to utilize the propaganda stickers.** Although both Castro and Khrushchev were in attendance at the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, 19-28 September 1960, and even though Castro flew out of New York in an Aeroflot jet, the Khrushchev visit did not materialize at this time.***

* See following two pages for copies.

** More detailed information on propaganda leaflets and the dissemination of such materials by air drop is given in Volume I of this history, *Air Operations*.

*** Khrushchev flew from New York directly to Moscow at the close of the UN session. On 22 October 1960 in the course of an interview in Moscow with a Cuban journalist Khrushchev did state that he wanted to visit Cuba and its people as soon as possible. 31a/

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If not particularly successful in projects other than Radio Swan, WH/4/PP cannot be charged with lack of imagination. Among other projects, it was proposed that the Office of Medical Services' psychiatric study of Fidel Castro be surfaced because the profile was not particularly flattering to the Cuban leader; and the Castro image also would have suffered if a disorienting drug could have been placed in Castro's food. These proposals were similar in intent to others aimed at the Castro "image" as revealed in the Senate Select Committee investigation of CIA plots against the Cuban leader.

In light of a rumor that had been picked up to the effect that the Cubans reportedly were painting some of their British Sea Fury aircraft with the American flag -- said planes to be used in a provocation action to discredit the United States -- WH/4 investigated the possibility of doctoring some photos of the Sea Furies with the flag being painted on in order to forestall any such provocations by the Cubans. Unfortunately, however, the Agency art shop pointed out that it would be technically infeasible to attempt to make such fake photos. With the idea in mind of a

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propaganda campaign aimed at terrorizing Castro's militia (and apparently at the request of Col. Jack Hawkins, Chief, WH/4/PM), WH/4/PP gave some thought to preparing a purported secret order to Castro's militia to establish an "elite suicide squad" which would fight on even after the defeat of the other troops. The gentleman who would later become infamous in connection with the Watergate activity, E. Howard Hunt, and Dave Phillips assessed the possibility of sending a white painted "flight of truth" airplane on a trip to several of the Latin American countries, bringing -- in a "Billy Graham type operation" -- the message of Castro's betrayal of the Cuban Revolution. But this esoteric plan, too, never got beyond the planning stage. 32/

None of the foregoing proposals however, were in the same league with the propaganda plan that came to be known as "the Dripping Cuban." The WH/4 Propaganda Notes for 19 August 1960 stated:

P[hillips] dispatched cable on Special Operation to HAVA. (Cuban jumping ship in Bosphorous). 33/

In fact, the cable that Dave Phillips had originated was addressed not only to Havana, but also to

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[12-3], [12-13], and to the Forward Operations Base in Miami. Remembering that Dave Phillips himself was something of an actor, as well as a newspaperman, it is believed worthwhile to repeat this cable in its entirety. The cable read as follows:

1. FYI: HQS IS CONSIDERING THE FOLLOWING OPERATION: SHORTLY AFTER A RUSSIAN BOAT HOMEWARD BOUND FROM CUBA PASSES THROUGH BOSPHOROUS A DRIPPING CUBAN CLIMBS ASHORE IN TURKEY. HE CLAIMS TO BE POLITICAL PRISONER ARRESTED BY CUBANS IN HAVANA BUT SENT TO RUSSIA FOR IMPRISONMENT. CUBAN SUBJECT WILL CONTACT LOCAL LATIN AMERICAN CONSULS AND ISTANBUL PRESS FOR EXPLOITATION, THEN RETURN LATIN AMERICA. AFTER BRIEF BUT DRAMATIC EXPOSURE TO PRESS AN "ATTEMPT" WILL BE MADE ON SUBJECT'S LIFE. FOR THIS REASON HE WILL GO UNDERGROUND SO "THEY" WILL NOT LIQUIDATE HIM.

2. FOR HAVA: REQUEST STATION RECRUIT SUBJECT. OBVIOUSLY HE MUST BE SUPERB ACTOR WHO CAN CONVINCINGLY MAINTAIN ROLE IN SPITE OF SKILLFUL PROBING BY DUBIOUS NEWSMEN. HE MUST HAVE MEMORY CAPABLE OF RETAINING THOUSANDS OF "DETAILS" ABOUT HIS ARREST AND FORCED JOURNEY. HE MUST BE KNOWN IN HAVANA SO AS TO BE MISSED WHEN HE IS "ARRESTED." AN ARTICULATE STUDENT TYPE WOULD BE DESIRABLE. SWIMMING ABILITY DESIRABLE BUT NOT ESSENTIAL.

3. SUGGEST THAT IN RECRUITMENT, STATION STATE THERE GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE CUBAN PRISONERS REALLY ARE BEING SENT RUSSIA, BUT THAT THIS CANNOT BE PROVED. THUS SUBJECT'S PARTICIPATION IN THIS PLAY-ACTING WILL BE JUSTIFIABLE DRAMATIZATION OF SOVIET CONTROL IN CUBA. STATION ALSO AUTHORIZED PROMISE FINANCIAL BACKING, LATER

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RETURN TO CUBA WITH FIGHTING GROUP, PERMISSION WEEKEND WITH ALL THE WORKS IN PARIS, ETC.

4. IN RECRUITMENT, IT SHOULD BE STRESSED TO SUBJECT THAT SUCCESS THIS OPERATION AND STATUS HIS POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL LIMELIGHT DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON SECURITY. HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS MUST REALLY BELIEVE HE HAS BEEN ARRESTED (AND STATION MUST ASSIST IN SPREADING WORD OF HIS ARREST FOR SPECIFIC OFFENSE SO THAT FACTS WILL JIBE IN SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATIONS.).

5. ADVISE SOONEST WHEN YOUR MAN IS SELECTED. HIS BRIEFING WILL BE IN PBPRIME. HOPE HE MAY BE RECRUITED IN TIME EXFILTRATE AMPAN BOAT DEPARTING HAVA END OF THIS MONTH.

6. FOR [12-3, 12-13]: APPRECIATE YOUR CABLED ASSESSMENT POSSIBLE EXTENT COOPERATION 24 SUGGEST HOWEVER NOT (REPEAT NOT) CONTACT NON-KUBARKERS UNTIL HEADQUARTERS CAN FORWARD OPERATIONAL PLAN. 34/

A memorandum on the outgoing cable quoted above went to Chief, WH/4 from Rudy Gomez, the Deputy Chief of WH Division on 24 August 1960. Gomez's memorandum read as follows:

The DCI, General Cabell, and Mr. Helms discussed this cable on 24 August [1960] and concluded that since Fidel' Castro is definitely identifying himself more and more with the Russians, it is not worth the candle to launch an operation such as that one proposed in subject cable. Mr. Helms said that we may discreetly try to find a body for this operation, providing we play it very carefully and do not

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let the body in on what we definitely have in mind; also, that any further cables which go out on this proposed operation are to be signed off by him.

Examined in retrospect, it would appear that Mr. Helms had good reason to be nervous about the proposal!* 35/

B. Sabotage and other Exercises**

Where WH/4/PP was successful in putting Radio Swan into operation and in supporting Station WRUL in

* This proposal provided another of the very few instances where Mr. Helms' name surfaced in relation to a Bay of Pigs related problem.

** Because so many of the sabotage activities of the Cuban dissidents were uncoordinated, uncontrolled, and did nothing to impede the extension of Castro's control or lessen his support, the author has tried only to illustrate something of the scope of those sabotage operations over which the WH or WH/4 could exercise a degree of control. In responding to the Taylor Committee's request for an assessment of the effectiveness of its sabotage program, the best that WHD could say was:

There are numerous acts of sabotage reported from all provinces of Cuba. These acts included the burning of cane fields, damaging of power and communication lines and sugar mills, burning of schools and commercial buildings and damaging of petroleum and sugar refinery [sic]. It is extremely difficult to verify just what sabotage damage were [sic] the result of our team's [sic] activities; however, they have claimed the burning of cane fields, the firing of commercial stores, [high] tension lines, and the damage to the oil refinery at Santiago de Cuba was the result of a raider operation by one of our

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its broadcasts into Cuba, Project JMATE could claim no similarly successful or continuing program of sabotage and disruption. In fact, one of the earliest and most thoroughly discussed sabotage programs against Cuba -- disruption of the Cuban petroleum industry -- was a complete and total bust. Being suggested even before President Eisenhower's authorization of the anti-Castro program, attempts to sabotage and interfere with the operation of Cuba's petroleum refineries continued until well into the middle 60's -- with at least one of the sabotage "experts" displaying the same notable lack of success, but excess of foolishness, that characterized his activities during Project

external action groups. In addition, we feel that a great deal of the other sabotage were [sic] the results [sic] of the demolitions we supplied to the various teams and other action groups in Cuba with which we were in contact. Approximately 10-15,000 lbs. of the over 100,000 lbs. of material [sic] placed in the hands of internal assets were demolitions supplies for sabotage action. 35a/

The attack on the Santiago refinery was led by Rip Robertson, but his exciting cable about the action greatly overemphasized the damage; and the plant operations were quickly restored to normal. At the time, however, the DCI reported it to the Special Group (Chester Bowles, Roswell Gilpatrick, and McGeorge Bundy) as a "successful" operation. 35b/ Robertson's cable is shown as Appendix E (p. 335).

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JMATE. It is a story worth recording here, because of the extremely close and continuing relationship between one of the major US oil companies operating a refinery in Cuba, [29], and WH Division.

As early as 9 March 1960, the minutes of a Special Group meeting reflect conversations that both Allen Dulles and Gordon Gray had concerning the problems being faced by the major petroleum companies operating in Cuba -- SONJ, Texaco, and Shell -- and particularly the need for "discreet means of inter-company consultation" in order to avoid possible anti-trust prosecution. In a discussion of planned para-military operations against Cuba, it was reported that on 14 July 1960, Chief, Western Hemisphere Division was approached "by [29]". He [Chief, WH/D] indicated that it appeared that [29] will be willing to cooperate, perhaps even carry the ball on certain selected [sabotage] targets.

DD/P gave authority to push this contact immediately."* 36/

* Paramilitary Operation Plan I, indicated that among the specific sabotage targets to be considered for attack in the period between 1 and 30 September 1960, were petroleum targets. 37/

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By August of 1960, WH/D had approved a program of "subtle sabotage paying off, without resorting to the more risky and sensational type of sabotage." Unfortunately, however, there was a communications gap between the operations people and the intelligence analysts most familiar with the world petroleum industry and a number of demonstrably unworkable -- though subtle -- sabotage efforts came to naught.*

The Cuban petroleum industry also was looked to as an economic-political target as well as a sabotage target. When the US refineries operating in Cuba refused Castro's order to process Soviet crude oil, WH/4 began to think in terms of disrupting the flow of this crude to Cuba by pressuring Onassis and other independent shipping operators to refuse to carry the Soviet oil. It was predicted that such

* The Agency's real petroleum expertise and knowledgeability -- both technically and economically -- on a worldwide basis was in the Fuels and Power Branch (later the Fuel's Branch) of the Office of Research and Reports (later the Office of Economic Research). Aside from the constant irritation of having to work half in the dark in response to WH/D or WH/4, ORR/F&P was constantly having to correct errors, to make apologies, or mend fences with the major US petroleum companies as a result of the lack of coordination between DDP and DDI components.

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a plan would force the USSR (then facing a shortage of tanker bottoms in the world market) to transport its own crude to Cuba and to "provide technicians and make modifications in existing refineries to process their crude." This, in turn, was supposed to alienate Venezuela and Mexico, normally among Cuba's crude suppliers.* 39/

In addition to petroleum refineries as targets for sabotage, plans were also made to disrupt the Cuban microwave system. Unlike the plans to disrupt the Cuban petroleum industry -- which would directly involve properties of the international oil companies -- the sabotage program for the microwave networks, as late as February of 1961, specifically stated that attacks should be limited to the Cuban operated net with "hands off RCA and Dumont systems, which are to remain intact for later consideration." 40/ Also

* In fact, the Cuban refinery technicians themselves did an excellent job of adapting the plants to the use of Soviet crude. The former manager of the E 29 refinery commented to this effect after reviewing the all source intelligence materials available on the plant. He was pleased -- at least in one sense -- to note that E 29 training program has apparently been quite successful!

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prohibited were attacks under Agency sponsorship on Soviet and Soviet-bloc targets located in Cuba. J. C. King protested that attacks on Soviet and Soviet-bloc targets by resistance forces not controlled by the Agency were far less efficient than such attacks would be if they were mounted through Agency efforts. 41/

In addition to planning for sabotage, WH Division's anti-Castro activity also included extensive plans for the formation of goon squads throughout much of Latin America in an attempt to counter the pro-Castro elements of the various nations. This goon squad program also was of considerable interest to the Deputy Director for Plans, Mr. Bissell. Because of its areawide nature, the activities of the goon squads were run out of WH/D rather than out of WH/4. Among the operations which WH claimed credit for were the following: The disruption in [10

] of about 400 Castro sympathizers gathered to celebrate the 26th of July movement through the use of stink bombs set off in the meeting place; in [10

] a counter demonstration against some 200 Castro sympathizers also gathered to celebrate the 26th of July movement; and in [10] "A meeting

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of the [29] was broken up by [24]

[], who sprayed the two principal speakers, prominent [8] leftists with 'Who, Me?'.** 42/

Among other assets which Chief, WH/D chose to mention in the same context with the goon squads were the [8] of one Latin American country:

Who can promote action of any of the [29]

In another country, an:

Agency member integrated into the [8] serving as an Advisor to the President on [8] is in a position to recommend [24] to the President.** 43/

In what may have been a ploy intended principally to obtain a vessel for use in infil-exfil operations,

* "Who, Me?" was an obnoxious scent.

** In light of subsequent investigations of CIA Activities by the Senate Select Committee in the mid 1970's, it is interesting that the reference to the "Action Squads" described above also included with reference to the Dominican Republic an agent:

In contact with a group of dissidents capable of violent action, including assassination. This group has killed a number of agents of the *Servicio de Inteligencia Militar* (SIM), Dominican Secret Police. 45/

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rather than in direct action programs against Cuba, representatives of the Special Projects Group, Counter-intelligence made a pitch to Chief, JMATE to acquire a vessel which -- for its acquisition, operational maintenance, crew, including incentive bonus would run roughly \$200,000 for a 6-month period -- could also be used in deception operations against Castro. In responding to this suggestion from the Special Projects Group, Col. Jack Hawkins quickly put the quietus on this request, noting that it was doubtful that the Cubans had either enough sophisticated radar or commo gear so that they would react to "the false radar presentation, deceptive communications traffic, noise makers, signals, smoke, explosions, etc." Consequently Hawkins concluded:

In view of the high cost involved, and the other factors mentioned above, I do not concur in the acquisition of this craft for deception purposes as proposed in the reference. 46/

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Part VI

Mr. Nixon's Role

Like so many other aspects of the Bay of Pigs story a great deal has been said about the role that Richard M. Nixon played in the operation during the course of his Vice Presidency, but woefully little solid evidence has ever appeared to verify either the *pros* or *cons* on the subject. Because of the continuing repetition of many of these stories, a careful search was undertaken of the voluminous CIA records of the operation in order to recover those items pertaining to Nixon's participation directly or indirectly -- through his aides, assistants, or correspondence -- in the Bay of Pigs operation.

During the course of his unofficial visit to the United States in the spring of 1959, Fidel Castro accepted the invitation of the Vice President of the United States to meet with Mr. Nixon in his official office in the Capitol for an informal discussion. Nixon has stated that the meeting was arranged at the request of the Secretary of State Herter, who suggested

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that the administration might profit if one of its leaders could gain additional inside information about what made Castro tick.

Nixon has said that he had a 3 1/2 hour meeting with Castro on 19 April 1959 and that as a result of the meeting, he prepared a 4-page secret memorandum and sent copies to President Eisenhower, Secretary Herter and to Allen Dulles.* 1/ In part at least, Mr. Nixon's version of the meeting with Castro was made public as early as November 1964 in an article he wrote for the *Reader's Digest*, and these views were repeated in somewhat more detail in his recent memoirs, *RN*. The thrust of the meeting was that Nixon was emphasizing the need for Castro to establish a democratic form of government as he (Nixon) understood it, with Castro on the other hand emphasizing that the

* In his *Reader's Digest* article of November 1964 Nixon indicated that copies of the memorandum went to the three individuals as noted in the text above, however, in his recent Memoirs, *RN*, Nixon states that a copy also went to John Foster Dulles. John Foster Dulles was technically Secretary of State until 22 April 1959, on which date he was succeeded by Christian Herter. At the time of the meeting between Nixon and Castro, however, Mr. Herter had been acting in Mr. Dulles' place. Dulles's death occurred 24 May 1959.

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type of government he believed in was that which was expressed most vocally by the people. Nixon's most widely known remark about Castro as a result of that meeting was his statement that: "Castro is incredibly naive about communism, or is under communist discipline." Reportedly Castro was not particularly enchanted with the meeting either, for according to a member of his party when Castro emerged from the meeting he "was angry. He swore and added, 'This man has spent the whole time scolding me'."* 2/

Subsequent to his meeting with Castro in April of 1959, Agency records do not reflect any particular interest on the part of the Vice President in Cuban activities until the end of January 1960. On 27 January, and again on 23 February, Col. J. C. King, Chief, Western Hemisphere Division, briefed Gen. Robert Cushman, Mr. Nixon's Aide, at the Vice President's Office. Cushman made it clear that the Vice President was

* It was only after making a direct request to Mr. Nixon that a copy of the memorandum was obtained. No copies were found in the files of CIA, State, or the Eisenhower Library. The copy obtained was from Mr. Nixon's personal files. The memorandum was, in fact, classified CONFIDENTIAL rather than SECRET. A copy of the memorandum is attached as Appendix F. 2a/

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interested in supporting anti-Castro groups both within and outside of Cuba, including goon squads or other direct action groups to match against the pro-Castro groups in Cuba.

Among the other subjects discussed with General Cushman on 23 February 1960 were propaganda attacks on the Castro government and the possibilities of economic sanctions similar to those which had been suggested by former Assistant Secretary of State Henry Holland, whose views on the need for economic sanctions had not only been discussed with Agency representatives, but also had been forwarded to the Vice President's office.

Another facet of the Agency's anti-Castro efforts which were of some interest to the Vice-President were CIA's relations with the Department of State, which obviously was not one of the Vice President's favorite organizations; but Col. King made it quite clear that all of CIA's actions were undertaken only after policy approval. 3/ After it was pointed out to Gen. Cushman that the Department of State's knowledgeability about Agency operations was on a strict "need-to-know" basis, even for the Ambassador in Cuba,

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Cushman then showed Col. King some derogatory information that the FBI had provided the Vice President about both Ambassador Bonsal and William Wieland of the Bureau of American Republic Affairs. Col. King's memorandum provided no details about the nature of this information, but the probability is that both were accused of being too tolerant of Castro and communists. 4/

During one of these meetings in the early part of 1960, Gen. Cushman noted that the Vice President had suggested that possibly the Agency would want to consult with, or acquire the services of, Col. Edward Lansdale, a member of Gen. Erskine's Special Operations Staff in the Department of Defense. Lansdale's activities in helping to quell the Huk rebellion in the Philippines, apparently were well known to Nixon. 5/

On 2 March 1960, the Director of Central Intelligence gave Vice President Nixon a detailed briefing on "What We are Doing in Cuba." The 7-page briefing paper which had been given to the Director provided information on Castro's pro-communist proclivities, on the whole range of the anti-Castro propaganda effort which was being supported by Agency financing,

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and went into details concerning attempts to rally anti-Castro support, not only in the other Latin American nations, but in the Near and Far East and in Africa. Details were given on the preparations being made for resistance activities including the acquisition of training bases in third countries, and both Ydigoras Fuentes, President of Guatemala, and President Luis Somoza of Nicaragua were noted as having made offers of support for this country's anti-Castro activities.

Plans for economic warfare against Castro were also outlined for the Vice President. Delaying deliveries of necessary spare parts for the sugar industry, tightening credit by oil companies to restrict delivery of the essential petroleum products, and possible restriction in sugar quotas were mentioned as under study. One other item which was mentioned in this briefing for Vice President Nixon was the fact that the Agency had "a drug, which if placed in Castro's food, would make him behave in such an irrational manner that a public appearance could have very damaging results to him." 6/ It should be emphasized that at the date of this briefing (2 March 1960), the United States did not yet have an *official* anti-Castro

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policy -- that would not come until 17 March of 1960. Subsequent to that announced policy, the author has found no other references to drugs or other types of attack which were being considered upon Castro's person, or the persons of any of the other Cuban leaders, as a part of the Agency's official program.*

There is some question as to whether it was the Director of Central Intelligence himself, or whether it was Mr. Bissell, or, perhaps, whether it was Col. King who actually briefed the Vice President on 2 March 1960. A stamp on the copy of the original Memorandum for the Director reads: "Noted by DCI 28 March 1960." This copy was sent to the DCI through the DDP and carries Mr. Bissell's initials. The carbon of the memorandum does not show this stamp and the presumption is that it was the Director who did the briefing. A third version of the memorandum is

* See Part VII of this Volume of the History of the Bay of Pigs Operation for clarification of the definition of the Agency's *official* policy regarding the anti-Castro program, as contrasted to the *unofficial* program. The author assumes that regardless of reader's biases regarding the former Vice President, that the fact that he heard about this drug in the course of a briefing will not be construed to make him a member of a conspiracy to assassinate Castro and other of the Cuban leaders.

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dated 8 March 1960 and was revised to read:

For the Director's use at the NSC 5412 Representatives Meeting which will consider the Cuban covert action program paper. (This paper was used for Mr. Nixon's briefing.)

This would seem to imply that perhaps the DCI did in fact do the briefing. While the briefer may not be positively identified, there is no question however, that the Vice President did receive a detailed briefing on the Agency's plan for action against Castro prior to the time of Eisenhower's formal proclamation.*

In addition to the meeting of 2 March when Mr. Nixon was briefed on the Agency's concerns about Cuba, the Vice President was also a participant in the 10 March 1960 meeting of the National Security Council when President Eisenhower emphasized that Cuba was a danger, that he wanted contingency plans drawn up, and that he wanted Cuba to be a subject for review at all future National Security Council Meetings. Mr. Nixon attended the 17 March 1960 conference when the President

* See Appendix G for copies of the first page of each of the three memorandums on the briefing of the Vice President on 2 March 1960. (For Appendix G see p. 344).

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gave a formal "go" to the Covert Action Plan of the Agency which had been agreed to by the 5412 Group. Mr. Nixon's only reported comments during this meeting concerned the cutting off of new capital to Cuba, the pulling out of private American firms, and the possibilities of reducing tourism to stop the flow of American dollars into Cuba. 7/

Perhaps one of the reasons why Vice President Nixon has been attributed with playing a major role in the Bay of Pigs activity has to do with the relationship between Nixon's office and Mr. William D. Pawley, former US Ambassador to Peru and Brazil and a US businessman with extensive investments in Cuba and interests in various other parts of Latin America. Pawley also was a principal contributor to the Republican party, particularly to Mr. Nixon's cause. Apparently hopeful of an appointment as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American affairs -- assuming a Republican party victory in the 1960 presidential election -- Pawley was a widely known conservative.

In the spring of 1960, shortly following President Eisenhower's decision to promote the anti-Castro program, Pawley's contacts with the Agency (particularly

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with WHD) and with Nixon's office became increasingly frequent and apparently quite close. On 21 March 1960, four days after formal approval of the anti-Castro program, Jake Esterline met with Pawley to plan a meeting to be held in Pawley's Miami residence which would include the DCI, Col. King, Gen. Cushman, and Walter J. Donnelly, Vice President of United States Steel and former ambassador to Venezuela as well as Mr. Pawley. Of the session with Pawley, Chief, WH/4 wrote:

Details and the agenda were not discussed other than to say the principal emphasis would be on reviewing what work could be done throughout the hemisphere and public opinion on the pending operation against Castro. Mr. Pawley was told that the time had arrived for careful coordination of all activities; that permission had been granted for an all-out operation; a government in exile will be formed post haste; that the acceptable non-Batista groups will be put into contact with each other almost immediately; and that Mr. Pawley's contact, Rubio Padilla, will figure prominently in this effort ... It was carefully explained to Mr. Pawley that any action involving exiles now should be most carefully coordinated with Chief, WHD and Chief, Branch 4 to avoid any flaps.* 8/

* Esterline also mentioned in his memorandum that Pawley had provided some information on the Dominican Republic which he asked Esterline not to pass beyond CIA until he, Pawley, had the opportunity to give the information directly to Vice President Nixon.

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The meeting mentioned in the foregoing paragraph was convened in Pawley's Miami residence on 1 April 1960, and the Agency's representatives briefed, among other things, on the problems being faced by the Cubans in exile who were trying to form a government. There was considerable discussion as to who should be the nominal leaders of this government in exile, with Pawley pushing in particular for Dr. Rubio Padilla and the Agency's representatives suggesting Dr. Antonio Varona. For the benefit of the Vice President's representative, it was stressed that none of the Latin American countries seemed particularly anxious to provide a base of operations for the government in exile. The group was informed by the Director of Central Intelligence and by Col. King that, in addition to US Government financing, arrangements were being made to have private confidential sources help defray the costs of the Cuban government in exile. Col. King pointed out that over and above a bond issue

which will be floated in the name of the government in exile with Mr. Pawley's help, that donations are being made by private citizens and corporations. He indicated that confidential arrangements

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have already been made with the Bureau of Internal Revenue to permit individuals or corporate entities making donations to claim these donations as contributions to the US Government for tax purposes. He cautioned that this arrangement was being limited to a very small group. 9/

The question also was raised about the relationship of the anti-Castro program to the Organization of American States. Mr. Pawley suggested that rather than lean toward the OAS, better use should be made of the US Military Mission in the Latin American countries, especially having them pass the word on about the dangers of the Castro Government to one and all in the Western Hemisphere. Other items of importance that were discussed by the group were the planned propaganda program and "the present pathetic effort on the part of the Catholic Church to face up to the Communist plot in Cuba."

This meeting demonstrated that from the very outset of the formalization of a US anti-Castro policy, Mr. Nixon was being fully informed of the plans that were underway to accomplish the US objectives, and that certain private American citizens were closely involved in the planning. Within a very short time after the April meeting at Pawley's residence, however,

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senior Agency personnel -- notably C. Tracy Barnes, the ADDP/A -- began to question the Agency's relationship with Mr. William Pawley, particularly as Pawley's support for Rubio Padilla was apparently intended to establish a group of Pawley supported Cubans in exile in opposition to the FRD, the Agency's supported exile group. Barnes's concern was that if the US continued to support the extremely conservative element represented by Pawley's group, it would be charged that any anti-Castro action undertaken by the US would be "on the basis of protecting economic royalists."

What Barnes stressed to Mr. Bissell, the DDP, was the need for the US to decide whether or not it wished to be charged with supporting reactionary movements in Latin America, not only in Cuba, but in the rest of the Central American and Caribbean areas as well. Once having made up its own mind, Barnes suggested that CIA's position be worked out with State "and thereafter take it to Mr. Nixon, giving him at that time, a thorough and complete briefing so that there can be no doubt in his mind

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as to where we stand, and what we propose to do."* 10/

When Rubio Padilla and the FRD failed to get together, Pawley informed Chief, Western Hemisphere Division that he was withdrawing from support of the Agency's anti-Castro operation; and Pawley told Col. King that he intended to make his views regarding the FRD known to Vice President Nixon. In addition, Pawley also had a meeting with President Eisenhower on 12 or 13 May 1960 at which time he stated his opinions with regard to the Dominican Republic and probably with reference to Cuba. In view of Pawley's recalcitrance to continue to work on the funding of the FRD, the DDP, ADDP/A, Chief WH/D, Chief WH/4 and others, discussed the *pros* and *cons* of cutting off the communications channel between Pawley and the Rubio groups into Cuba -- a channel which was provided by the Agency's communications facility.

Chief, WH Division got the group to agree that the communications channel should be continued because

* Mr. Barnes's thoughts probably were transmitted to Director Dulles for in a meeting of the Special Group on 19 May 1960, the DCI categorized the Cubans supported by Pawley as "unreconstructed reactionaries." 10a/

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it did provide a window to the activities of the Pawley group. Moreover, the Pawley group had a duplicate channel into Cuba and would not necessarily have been restricted by denial of the Agency channel. A restriction was placed on the transmittal of communications which would be prejudicial to CIA operations in Cuba; but it was agreed that Pawley should be advised of the cancellation of such messages by Chief, Western Hemisphere Division. The monitoring of such cable traffic, however, was to be the responsibility of Chief, WH/4, Jake Esterline.

Because of Pawley's close ties to the Eisenhower administration, the Deputy Director for Plans agreed that the discussion regarding Pawley should be brought to the attention of the Director of Central Intelligence and that Mr. Dulles should be urged to bring this matter before both President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon, 11/ By the first week of June 1960, however, Jake Esterline apparently had reached the end of his tether, for in a Memorandum to the DDP, he wrote:

It is our firm conviction, based on months of discussion, that Mr. Pawley's views on the Cuban situation are highly

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personal and rigid. These views in our opinion are inimical to the best interest of the United States. Mr. Pawley has refused to budge from his position and has continued to seek official endorsement of his views at the high levels of the government. The flagrant disregard for security reflected in Havana cable 4820 dated 4 June 1960 requires Chief, JMARC to recommend that all contact with the Rubio-Pawley group be immediately and finally severed. If such action is not taken, no guarantee can be made for the security of the JMARC operation. In point of fact, the information in the foregoing message indicates that security already has been damaged severely. 12/

Among other things, the Havana cable which had aroused Chief, WH/4 stated that the following information was being circulated in anti-Castro circles in Cuba:

US Government now backing Rubio group and no other group. Group has entre to Veep. For a time Pawley was having trouble with an Agency or Agencies who wanted [to] back another junta, but after Pawley offered [to] withdraw completely, he was talked out of doing so, and given assurance his group only would be backed, [and this] resulted resignation person backing other group. 13/

Headquarters prepared a priority cable to be sent to both Havana and to the Forward Operations Base, which had also picked up the disinformation being spread by the anti-FRD group. The text of the

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able read in part as follows:

You have been authoritatively advised that US Government is not (repeat not) backing Rubio group and that it has no intention of ever doing so. It complete fabrication that Pawley was given US Government assurance that only his group would be backed. No resignations of any kind occurred, nor are any foreseen. Mention Veep in such context and on this particular level sheer foolhardiness and can only reflect most adversely on those Cubans who guilty misrepresentation of facts and severest indiscretions. 14/

The cable apparently was never forwarded to either Havana or to Miami, presumably because of opposition from Col. J. C. King who had noted and initiated on his copy of the Memorandum from Jake Esterline recommending that all contact with the Rubio-Pawley group be "immediately and finally severed" the following: "I do not concur with severing of all contacts."* 15/

* As will be noted subsequently, whether it was political expediency or conviction that Pawley could actually do some good, the relationship among Pawley, Chief, WH Division, and Chief, WH/4 continued throughout the course of the Bay of Pigs Operation. If anything in fact, the relationship between Pawley and Jake Esterline appears to have become mutually supportive, particularly as the operation drew to its unsuccessful conclusion.

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On 20 June 1960 at the request of General Cushman, Jake Esterline joined him for lunch, the purpose being to provide the General with sufficient information on the state of the anti-Castro program so that he could bring the Vice President up to date from the time of the Miami meeting that had taken place at William Pawley's house.* Among the points covered were the developments related to the organization of the FRD and the fact that Mr. William Pawley's candidate, Señor Rubio, had decided not to join the Frente. According to Esterline's memorandum:

Dr. Rubio's failure to join the Frente, however, has not held up progress in forming the junta, and/or the other important aspects of the operation.

General Cushman was told that the Frente's headquarters were to be established in Mexico, and it was on this occasion that Esterline introduced General Cushman to E. Howard Hunt, who was going to move to Mexico with the Frente.**

* The meeting of 21 March 1960.

** Insofar as can be determined, this probably was the first occasion on which Richard Nixon heard the name of E. Howard Hunt.

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Chief, WH/4 also touched on the programs that were being beamed out of Swan Island, on the preparation being made for training paramilitary types, base communications, planned paramilitary activities, the choice of a Third Country's staging area, and that the operation was still scheduled to begin during the month of November 1960. Gen. Cushman noted that the Vice President requested this information in order to prepare for an upcoming NSC meeting at which he would be a senior official. The Vice President's aide also asked if there were any particular problems with relation to the operation that Chief, WH/4 wished to have brought to the attention of the Vice President. Esterline reported that the only problems that had occurred concerned political differences among the exiles, but that for the moment all factions seemed to be quiescent. Chief, WH/4 also indicated to Gen. Cushman "that much had yet to be done vis-a-vis other countries in the hemisphere to ensure that JMARC would have adequate support at the eleventh hour."* 16/

On 22 June 1960, General Cabell -- Acting DCI at the time -- briefed a special meeting of the National Security Council on the Cuban situation. The Vice

* Except for Guatemala and Nicaragua, such support would never be forthcoming.

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President presided and the meeting was attended by the Secretaries of State, Defense, and Treasury, the Director of the Office of Civil & Defense Mobilization, the Acting Attorney General, a representative of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and, among others, Messrs. Bissell, King, Esterline, and McMahan of the Central Intelligence Agency.* 17/

A great deal of the briefing was devoted to the FRD and its leadership -- their policies, their background, and the internal difficulties and bickering. The propaganda picture also was discussed, with particular emphasis again on radio broadcasts from Swan Island. Gen. Cabell stated that the paramilitary plan was to develop a force of 500 men who would be divided into 25 20-man teams. The teams would go into Cuba to organize and to train indigenous dissident groups. Cabell emphasized that the implementation of the paramilitary program depended on the existence

* Knight McMahan was on the Staff of the Deputy Director for Intelligence -- that component of the Central Intelligence Agency which, according to some of the "authorities" on the Bay of Pigs, was presumably uninformed and unaware of the Agency's anti-Castro program.

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of viable dissident forces which "have not emerged in strength."

The ADCI also mentioned the plans to create an anti-Castro air force, but his comments about this air force (even at this time) were very much in error. According to General Cabell:

Some trained Cuban fliers are currently available and we hope soon to have access to additional numbers. "Sterile" aircraft for their use have been mothballed by the Department of Defense and earmarked for CIA use. These craft can be made available in a matter of hours. 18/

As reported in an earlier volume of this history, neither the aircraft nor trained Cuban pilots would be available for missions against Castro's Cuba until late in the fall of 1960.*

In the NSC briefing, Cabell also made some interesting comments about the resistance that might be encountered in an attempt to oust Castro, emphasizing that intelligence reports had indicated that Cuba might organize "a 'foreign legion' comprised of highly trained regular military personnel, drawn from Communist nations, mainly the eastern satellites. Should this eventuality occur it would seriously affect the

* See Volume I of the Official History of the Bay of Pigs Operation, *Air Operations*.

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probable success of any purely clandestine paramilitary operations." Cabell then introduced a suggestion which would be heard right up to the time that the invasion fleet was being boarded -- that "volunteers" be acquired for the anti-Castro forces, such volunteers to be drawn from US Special Forces.* 18a/

As the presiding officer at the special National Security Council meeting, Vice President Nixon raised a number of questions with the Department of State representatives concerning support that the Organization of American States would likely give to this country's anti-Castro efforts; and he also posed a series of questions concerning the economic pressures that the United States might put on Cuba. The questions concerned sugar, oil, and tariffs in particular; and the Vice President urged that "strong, positive action [be taken] to avoid becoming labeled "Uncle Sucker." 19/

* No such volunteers were permitted in the case of the ground forces, but in the last two days of the Bay of Pigs Operation such volunteers were accepted for combat air operations. See Volume I of this History, *Air Operations*.

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On 1 July 1960, Jake Esterline received an interesting telephone call from General Cushman, containing two messages from the Vice President. First, Mr. Nixon was interested to know if there were any obstacles that the Agency was encountering vis-a-vis other agencies in support of JMATE; and if there were, the Vice President indicated that he personally would help to resolve such problems. The second request

was a bit more sticky. Gen. Cushman said that the Vice President has commissioned him to keep Mr. William Pawley happy and, in connection with this, he has also been instructed to keep Mr. Pawley briefed on how things are moving. General Cushman said he realized that this is much against our desire, as concerns Mr. Pawley, but the fact remains that he [Pawley] is a "big fat political cat" and, as such, the Vice President cannot completely ignore him. 20/

Esterline allowed that he understood the General's problem and suggested that with a few hours advance warning the Agency would provide the Vice President, or the General, with such briefing materials as necessary for any given meeting with Mr. Pawley -- after first clearing the paper with the appropriate agency officials and within the security regulations that applied to Mr. Pawley. Esterline indicated in his

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memorandum that he immediately informed the Deputy Director for Plans, and the Assistant Deputy Director for Plans, Mr. Bissell and Mr. Barnes, respectively, about the call from General Cushman.*

Jake Esterline apparently took the Vice President's offer to help CIA with difficulties it might have with other agencies to heart. In a memorandum from C. Tracy Barnes, concerning a more effective commercial cover for Radio Swan, it appears, from Barnes's response, that Esterline must have suggested that the services of Vice President Nixon be engaged to resolve a difficulty between the Agency and the FCC over the use of commercial advertising to make

* The following interesting comments also appeared in Esterline's memorandum on the conversation with General Cushman:

This information [regarding Cushman's telephone call] could not be given to Col. King, as he had just departed on a three-day trip. This memorandum will be available to Col. King, however, upon his return Wednesday, 6 July.

Contrary to the opinions of many who have suggested that Col. J. C. King was read out of the anti-Castro operation, this memorandum would indicate that, in fact, extreme care was being taken to make sure that J. C. King was read into the act.

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Swan appear more legitimate. Barnes, however, took exception and recommended that the US Government should consider overt sponsorship of the Swan broadcasts.* 21/

It was also in July 1960 that Vice President Nixon's office, principally through the person of General Cushman, first indicated an interest in the activities of one Mario Garcia Kohly Antiga. Garcia was a Cuban exile who claimed to have extensive backing both within the Cuban community in Miami and among dissidents inside Cuba. At one point he claimed that he could raise a force of 2,000 men in the Miami area and 10,000 men inside of Cuba -- if he were given proper financial support for training and equipping these men. Garcia's name first came before the Agency in mid-June 1960 following a meeting he had with a Cuban exile who was an Agency contact. During this

* Whether the FCC was chastened by Mr. Nixon or whether a determination was made concerning the increased use of commercial advertising for Radio Swan is left in doubt. But Barnes's suggestion of official USG participation in Swan was rejected. A note from Esterline on the official routing slip from Barnes forwarding this memorandum read: "I believe Mr. Bissell reversed this position." To this query King noted "Yes" on the buck slip.

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initial meeting Garcia claimed that he had large stores of military equipment in Spain, that he had additional promises of assistance from General Franco, and that he had contacts in the White House who had given him the "go ahead" for an invasion of Cuba!

Word of Garcia apparently got to the FBI, to General Cabell, and apparently to the Office of Vice President Nixon. In any event, on 9 July 1960 Jake Esterline met with Mr. Marshall Diggs, a Washington lawyer and Garcia's sponsor, where he was told of Garcia's grandiose plans to overthrow Castro. In a follow-up meeting in Diggs's office on 11 July, Mr. Phillip Toomey, WH/4/Prop met with Garcia, Cameron Pulley, and two reputed underwater demolitions experts. Garcia went into his act about how his force could overthrow the Castro Government, assuming that he could get some financial assistance for training and equipping the troops. Mr. Pulley proceeded to tell Mr. Toomey that Garcia's project was part of a program that was being promoted by former Senator Owen Brewster for the entire Caribbean area -- apparently a program designed to eliminate all the bad guys. Following another meeting on 13 July and after

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The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited UHI 2005

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The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited: An International Collection of Documents, from the Bay of Pigs to the Brink of Nuclear War

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The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited: An International Collection of Documents, from the Bay of Pigs to the Brink of Nuclear War reproduces a comprehensive collection of records from the archives of the three key governments involved in the most dangerous confrontation of the Cold war. Declassified records from the United States, Russia and Cuba significantly advance analysis of the historical foundations of the missile crisis, the policy calculations and considerations of President John F. Kennedy and premiers Nikita Khrushchev and Fidel Castro, and the overt and covert military and paramilitary operations that combined to bring the world to the threshold of a nuclear exchange. Topics extensively covered in the documentation include the failed U.S.-led invasion at the Bay of Pigs, renewed attempts to overthrow Castro through Operation Mongoose and Operation Northwoods, U.S. military contingency planning for conflict with Cuba, naval warfare, Soviet and Cuban decision making and communications during the crisis, and the repercussions for U.S.-Soviet relations, and Soviet-Cuban relations in its aftermath. Materials were identified, obtained, assembled and indexed by the National Security Archive, a non-profit Washington D.C. based research institute and library. The microfiche collection is accompanied by a printed guide and index.

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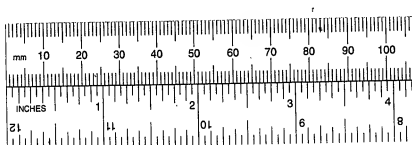
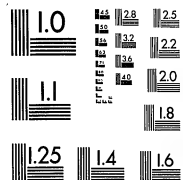
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listening to Garcia denounce the FRD leaders as Communists -- as well as being unimpressed by his credentials -- on 15 July 1960, Marshall Diggs was informed that the Agency had no interest in supporting Mr. Garcia. On 20 July 1960, Chief, JMATE met with General Cushman to tell him that a full study had been made of the representatives of Señor Garcia; and as a result, the DCI probably would get in touch with Mr. Diggs and/or Senator Brewster and explain to them "the wisdom of their desisting from pushing Garcia as an outstanding Cuban military leader."

The subject dragged on, however; and at one point Mr. Pulley, who with Mr. Diggs and ex-Senator Brewster, was a strong supporter of Mr. Nixon, indicated that the administration's policies with regard to Cuba might hurt the Vice President in the upcoming election. Moreover Pulley also is reported to have indicated that a congressional investigation of the anti-Castro plan was possible. The Director of Central Intelligence was advised on 26 September that because of Garcia's threats to expose everything he had learned about possible Agency involvement in the anti-Castro effort, including the Cuban exile

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organization in the United States, that the time had come for Diggs and Pulley to be asked "to forego their efforts on behalf of Mario Garcia Kohly Antiga." This recommendation was approved by General C. P. Cabell on 13 October 1960.* 22/

Insofar as the available records show, the contacts between Vice President Nixon's office, and the

* More nonsense from Mario Garcia Kohly Antiga would surface again in the summer of 1961 following Castro's offer to free the Bay of Pigs prisoners in return for US tractors when Garcia bounced up with another proposal for the planned escape of the prisoners -- providing, of course, that he be given a bundle of bucks.

In fact, the hand of Garcia reached from beyond the grave to touch on the BOP operation. On 2 August 1976, almost a year after Garcia's death, the *Washington Star* carried a UPI dispatch saying that Rep. Thomas N. Downing (D., Va.) had affidavits claiming that:

In return for support of the invasion [of Cuba] from Mario G. Kohly, a popular right-wing leader who was exiled from Cuba, then Vice President Nixon agreed in October 1960 to order the CIA to arrest the leftist leaders and turn them over to Kohly for "elimination" after Premier Fidel Castro was thrown out of office.

The affidavits reportedly came from a former CIA contract agent and Mario G. Kohly, Jr., son of the would-be invasion leader. These materials were supposed to have some bearing on House of Representatives' investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy; but there is no indication that they were given any credence. 23/

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Central Intelligence Agency -- except for the Garcia case -- for all practical purposes ended by August 1960.*

The only other significant involvement between the Vice President and the Central Intelligence Agency, prior to the change of administration on 20 January 1961, concerned a briefing of the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, prior to the 1960 election. On 23 July 1960, following the Democratic convention, Allen Dulles briefed Sen. John Kennedy, and on 28 July Senator Lyndon Johnson. In his memorandum to President Eisenhower, who had directed that Dulles give these briefings, the DCI reported that in the two hour period for each briefing he had covered US relations with the Soviet Union, developments in the Berlin situation, in the

* Whether this reflects the concentration of the Vice President's activities on the upcoming November election, whether the principal contacts came to be maintained between Col. J. C. King and Nixon's office -- with the consequent reference memoranda being included in J. C. King's files, which have disappeared from the sight of God and man -- or whether, in fact, this is an accurate reflection of the limited contacts, the author cannot confirm. His inclination is to believe that the contacts probably were as limited as described above.

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Congo, and in Cuba. Kennedy was briefed again on 19 September 1960, and again the briefing touched on relations with the Soviet Union and on the trouble spots in the world, including Cuba. The White House was informed of this briefing prior to the event; and subsequent to the briefing of Kennedy, Mr. Dulles reported on the meeting to both Jerry Morgan of the White House Staff and also to Brigadier General Andrew Goodpaster, Staff Secretary to the President. 24/

The exact nature of the briefings that Dulles gave to Kennedy on Cuba is of particular historical importance in terms of the election of 1960. In the last of the famous TV debates between candidates Nixon and Kennedy, Mr. Kennedy, in the course of condemning the Castro regime and suggesting that the United States take stronger action against Castro, made the statement that:

We must attempt to strengthen the non-Batista democratic anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro. Thus far, these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our Government. 25/

Based on his knowledge and interest in supporting the anti-Castro program that had been authorized by

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President Eisenhower in March 1960, Nixon was put in a Catch-22 situation; for as he said:

President Eisenhower had instructed Allen Dulles, head of the CIA, to brief the Democratic candidate on all operations, including Top Secret operations. I knew that Kennedy had already received two briefings from Dulles. I immediately had a member of my staff call the White House on the security line to ask if these briefings covered Cuba. A member of the White House Staff indicated they had. (Several months after the election, Allen Dulles was to state that his briefing of Kennedy had included Cuba but not the training program for Cuban exiles.) At the time of the debate, however, and after checking with the White House, I had to proceed with the assumption that Kennedy had been briefed on the secret program.

I was faced with the heads-he-wins, tails-I-lose proposition. If in the TV debate I were to reveal the existence of the training program and point out that I had been one of its strongest advocates, I would pull the rug out from under Kennedy's position. But if I did so, the project would be doomed, and also the lives of the brave men, both inside and outside of Cuba, who were receiving training and assistance.

I had only one choice: to protect the security of the program, I had to oppose Kennedy on his position of advocating that the United States openly aid anti-Castro forces inside and outside Cuba. 26/

It is interesting to observe that Nixon became more philosophical about the impact of the final TV

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debate with regard to the outcome of the 1960 election as time passed. In 1964 he would write "Most observers agree that our positions on the Cuban issue could well have been the decisive factor [in the outcome of the election]." But in his recent memoirs he expressed doubt that any single factor in such a close election could really have changed the outcome.* 27/

Following the TV debate, in which Kennedy had raised the issue of assistance for Cuba, Nixon quickly lashed back at Kennedy. The result of the introduction of the Cuban issue into the late stages of the

* In an interesting conversation with Fawn M. Brodie who is writing a Nixon biography, the author of this history, in response to Brodie's concern about the fact that Nixon knowingly lied to the American public, emphasized that plausible deniability was of real concern at the time of the TV debate. He also emphasized the Catch-22 aspect of the situation as explained by Nixon. The author also suggested to Mrs. Brodie that it seemed equally valid to infer that perhaps Kennedy had been leaked detailed information about the anti-Castro program and that he used this device to put Nixon in a corner during the TV debate. Arthur Schlesinger, of course, claimed that the Kennedy comments "were no more than a rhetorical flourish. Neither Kennedy nor his staff knew about the secret Cuban Army in Guatemala." 28/

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election campaign, struck sensitive nerves within the Agency; and on 26 October 1960, General Cabell met with Gordon Gray, President Eisenhower's National Security Adviser, indicating that the discussion and debate about Cuban issues were touching on areas which, in the end, might be damaging to the nation's interest. On 27 October at the Special Group meeting, Mr. Gray reported that he had talked to "certain Nixon people in the White House" in an attempt to enlist their support to bring such discussions to an end. 29/

It was not until 18 November 1960 that President-elect John F. Kennedy was fully briefed by Director of Central Intelligence, Allen Dulles, and the Deputy Director for Plans, Richard Bissell, on the extent of the anti-Castro activities being planned by the United States Government. 30/ Mr. Nixon's misconception of the extent of the briefing that Kennedy had received in the pre-election period was not finally clarified however, until 20 March 1962 when Allen Dulles addressed a memorandum to John A. McCone, his successor as Director of Central Intelligence, stating as follows:

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I have read the portions of Mr. Nixon's book with regard to the intelligence briefings which he understood Senator Kennedy had been given by me with respect to Cuba during the campaign. I have also seen the White House statement issued today on this subject.

There has been here, I believe, an honest misunderstanding. This was probably due to the nature of the message Mr. Nixon writes he received as to these briefings. The Cuban situation was, of course, dealt with in the briefings I gave to Senator Kennedy. The last briefing I gave him was over a month before the debate in which the issue arose.

My briefings were intelligence briefings on the world situation. They did not cover our own Government's plans or programs for action -- overt or covert. 31/

As previously noted, however, by 1964, if not earlier, Mr. Nixon had accepted the fact that he had made an error in assuming that Kennedy had received a more detailed briefing than in fact he truly had.

By way of concluding this segment on Richard Nixon's involvement in the Bay of Pigs activity, it should be clear that by no stretch of the imagination was Nixon "the architect of the Bay of Pigs."* 32/

* A statement made to DCI Stansfield Turner by Fawn Brodie who attributed it to Tom Braden, an old CIA man, in a TV documentary on the CIA made by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

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It is equally clear that Mr. Nixon, principally through his aide, General Robert E. Cushman, Jr., was fully read into the plans that were being developed by the Central Intelligence Agency for the ouster of Fidel Castro. This interest was especially strong in the period from the winter of 1960 through the late summer of 1960. It also should be apparent to the reader that while some of the Vice President's interest -- particularly in his insistence on placating William Pawley, especially in giving undue attention to Pawley's concerns that the Agency-sponsored Cuban-exile organization was being taken over by the pro-Communist groups -- was politically motivated, his basic concern was the fear of the establishment of a communist government in the Western Hemisphere. Certainly his constant interest and offers to provide help for the Agency in its relations to other branches of the US Government fall into the latter, rather than the former, category. The unanswerable question, of course, is whether Cuban Communism would play such a large role in international

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affairs in 1979, particularly in the third world countries, if Richard Nixon had been elected President in 1960.*

* Indicative of the more forceful role that Nixon would have had the US play was the comment that he reportedly made to William Pawley several weeks before the 1960 election, when Nixon indicated that he favored breaking relations with Cuba -- at that time -- recognizing a Government-in-exile, and then assisting that Government in its efforts to oust Castro. 33/

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Part VII

The Question of Assassinations

In his testimony before the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations, Intelligence Activities, Richard M. Bissell, formerly CIA's Deputy Director for Plans, testified fully and completely to the role that he, Sheffield Edwards, and William Harvey played in negotiations with Robert Maheu and Mafia figures John Rosselli and Momo Salvatore Giancana on plans for the assassination of Fidel Castro. In addition to the individuals just named, it also appears highly probable that Allen Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence (and possibly both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy) was aware that Castro was an assassination target. Unfortunately the Senate Committee Report and the media coverage of the investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency's participation in assassination plots made it appear that the Mafia involvement was a fundamental part of the Agency's response to President Eisenhower's March 1960 authorization for CIA to be principally responsible for the ouster of Fidel Castro. In fact, the activities of

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Messrs. Bissell, Edwards, and Harvey, with Maheu and the Mafia remained strictly compartmented and isolated from the officially authorized Project JMARC -- the Project which came to be known as the Bay of Pigs operation. Bissell himself stated:

I don't remember. I have no recollection that [there was] any specific other plot against Castro during this period when the Bay of Pigs operation was in preparation. I do remember my own feeling that the Mafia plot had a very modest chance for success, and that it was not something to be depended on in any way. I don't remember others. 1/

Bissell also told the author of this history that:

Shef [Col. Sheffield Edwards, Director, Office of Security] would occasionally let me know what was going on [vis-a-vis the Mafia]. In effect, he and his immediate subordinate were case officers for that activity; and I don't think anybody else [was] involved. I think probably Tracy [Barnes] may have known about it, but I don't think anybody else involved with the Bay of Pigs operation knew anything about it; whatever. My recollection is that it never went to the Special Group, and that is the view of [McGeorge] Bundy.* 2/

* Interestingly enough, at the same time that Col. Edwards was concerned about the elimination of Castro, CIA's Deputy Director for Support, Col. L. K. White, noted:

Shef Edwards and I met with General Cabell and Jack Earman [on 22 March 1961] to point out to them that we were not
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Jacob D. Esterline, who was Chief, WH/4, the component of Western Hemisphere Division specifically created to run the anti-Castro project, disclaimed either responsibility or knowledgeability about the Mafia connection.* 4/ Richard D. Drain, who became Chief of Operations for WH/4 was more voluble on the subject of the assassination attempts which were reported by the Senate Select Committee. In an interview which touched, among other things on the planned assassination of Castro by the Mafia-types Drain commented:

furnishing the Director the personal protection which we should be furnishing in these critical times, particularly with regard to the dangers inherent in the Cuban situation. General Cabell agreed to talk with the Director about this, and to try to obtain his approval to increase Mr. Tighe's force to six people. 3/

* Esterline claimed that on one occasion as Chief, WH/4 he refused to grant Col. J. C. King, Chief, WH Division, a blank check when King refused to tell Jake the purpose for which the check was intended. Esterline reported that King nonetheless got a FAN number from the Office of Finance and that the money was used to pay the Mafia-types. It was subsequent to the Bay of Pigs operation when he found out about this, and Esterline told the author of this history that he expressed his strong opposition to the funding of such activities to J. C. King. 5/

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I've been giving you lessons here about [how] a COPS should know a little about everything ... Well, I promise you, until it came out in 1975, this allegation, at least, that Shef Edwards and Mr. Maheu were working with the Mafia to assassinate Castro, concurrent with the Bay of Pigs Operation, that is the first time I ever heard about it. Ever! ... My thought, when I saw this, was Jesus Christ, I must have been a little over-compartmented, because we had spent a considerable amount of nervous energy figuring out how are we going to get a shot at the old son-of-a-bitch concurrent with the landing. If anybody with whom I participated in planning for that ... something that we never had figured out how to do, because so many of our agents went down just prior to the invasion. If anybody that was involved in that ever spoke a word about any other exercise going on to get Castro, I never heard it; and my initial reaction when all this came out, during this last year was ... well ... why did they give me the idiot treatment? Then it occurred to me that maybe there was very good reason for me not to know. You don't need to know ... compartmentation ... even from COPS is not unheard of ...

Well, mind you, I am not saying what I've just said in any kind of pique; and I certainly don't want to leave you -- or this tape recorder -- with the impression that had I known about this, I would have been opposed. I must say, I don't think I would have enjoyed the instrument very much -- whereas we put out an awful lot of bullshit to the Cubans about the restoration of democracy and all that. Those Cubans that were working with us were not, I submit, working for the re-establishment of the Mafia as a controlling factor in Havana. I had a helluva lot rather, in

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contemplating the assassination of Castro, contemplated in the way that we were contemplating it -- that is, can we get a Rip Robertson close to him? Can we get a really hairy Cuban -- I mean a gutsy Cuban -- to be infiltrated with this one thing in mind? We surveyed all of our agent material to see who could take a shot at him, but the assassination of that charismatic guy, coincidental with the invasion, would have been a highly desirable thing. Whether the instrument to be picked should have included the Mafia, I think I might have questioned at the time. It was part of my job ... to ask, "Now wait a minute ... What are we doing here? ... If this comes out ... what will we look like?" Not only to ourselves, which is important, but to the Cubans." 6/

In light of Drain's comments about the desirability of having the good guys in the white hats eliminate Castro, rather than the Mafia guys in the black hats, a specific attempt was made to see what the official records revealed about such plans. Although far from satisfactory or complete, there is evidence to indicate that the white-hatted guys would have had no objection -- as reported by Mr. Drain -- if a successful assassination attempt could have been made. Contrary to General Cabell's reported put down of Assistant Secretary of State Livingston Merchant for Merchant's query about the possibilities of taking

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"direct positive action" against the Castro brothers and Che Guevara, WH/4 records reveal interest, and possibly limited, direct participation, in a number of such activities.*

For the most part, however, the various pieces of evidence that seemed to implicate WH/4 in assassination plots against Castro or other of the Cuban leaders proved to be cold trails. The peripatetic Howard Hunt claimed, even prior to the Senate investigations, that after a visit to Havana in the spring of 1960, he prepared a report recommending among other things that the Agency should:

Assassinate Castro before or coincident with the invasion (a task for Cuban patriots) ... Barnes and Bissell read my report ... and said it would weigh in the final planning ... So far as I have been able to determine no coherent plan was ever developed within CIA to assassinate

* As the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, Cabell pointed out to Mr. Merchant that such action was highly dangerous both in conception and execution, and, further, he indicated that it was beyond the Agency's capability. 7/ The Senate Select Committee chased its tail at some length over the interpretation of the term "direct positive action," as used by Merchant. Only someone (even a Senator) who consistently engaged and in omphaloskepsis would have a problem understanding the meaning to be anything other than assassination.

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Castro, but it was the heart's desire of many exile groups.* 8/

In another instance, it appeared possible that an agent named [6] a Cuban exile, might have been in training to make an assassination attempt because it was reported that he

was taken to the [99] firing range where he was checked out in the use of the Special .38 Airweight semi-hammerless pistol; British Welrod pistol, single shot, a 9mm parabellum with silencer; carbine with folding stock; and a 7.65mm British Welrod with silencer. He is to be also checked out this week in the use of a sporting rifle with telescopic lens attachment.

It was revealed subsequently that upon his reinfiltration into Havana, [6] had two principal sabotage missions -- one against the Esso refinery and the other aimed at the Havana Electric Company. 9/

In mid-July 1960, there reportedly was an internal Cuban attempt on Castro's life, an attempt in which neither WH/4 nor the Mafia played a part. A cable from Santiago de Cuba reported:

* Hunt alleged that when he asked Barnes about the status of his recommendation he was told that it was "in the hands of a special group." Jake Esterline and Jim Flannery (Executive Officer of the DDP at the time of the Bay of Pigs) both disclaimed knowledge of any memorandum prepared by Hunt. A search of WH/4 records failed to surface any such report.

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On 15 July 1960, the Cuban Government uncovered a plot to kill Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz on 26 July 1960 during his visit to Mina del Frio, an army camp in the Sierra Maestra mountains, between Bayamo and Manzanillo in Oriente Province. Three captains and approximately 100 soldiers had been arrested and more arrests are expected. 10/

In addition to Richard Bissell and Dick Drain, Jake Esterline the Chief of Project JMATE was also very emphatic in denying that assassination of Castro or the Cuban leaders was a part of the JMATE Program. In response to a question of whether various of the special arms that were being forwarded to the PM training sites were intended for use against the Cuban leadership, Esterline responded:

No, I think it [silenced weapons in particular] is for hit and run operations, where they could do their maximum damage and get out without necessarily alerting people ... I know of no -- within JMARC as I knew it -- I know of no attempt, no plans that were made to assassinate. As a matter of fact, the constant battle with Cubans during those years was to tell them that we weren't going to get involved in any assassination, that if there was going to be an overthrow, it was going to be, obviously, a bloody operation; but no Cubans were going to be sent in there, to "make an assassination attempt." It was going to be a ground-roots revolution.* 11/

Some contradictory evidence, however, indicates that WH/4, if not principally responsible, was certainly

* It is known that at least one assassination plot against Castro and his advisers -- an attack by four men using US rifle-grenades -- was proposed by anti-Castro Cubans to COS Havana, but the COS gave the originator of the plan "no encouragement whatsoever." 11a/

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aware of some sort of planned assassination activity.
 One of the principals of WH/4 recorded that on 24 February 1961 he:

Asked Ed [Stanulis], Dave P[hillips], [Ed] Hinkle, [Bob] Moore, and Jake [Esterline] why not proceed with Operation AMHINT to set up a program of assassination. 12/

Although the author of that remark was Chief of Operations for Project JMATE, he was unaware, as reported earlier in this chapter, of the Mafia connection; but he had indicated that one of his hopes was that the invasion might lead to the death of Castro.* In response to a specific question about the AMHINT program, all he could say was:

I said that I was not failing to give some attention to the business of assassination. Now, here on the 24th of February, when I asked Ed, Dave Phillips, Hinkle, Moore, and Jake "why not proceed with Operation AMHINT to set up a program of assassination," either none of those bastards knew anything about Sheffield Edwards and Maheu in the Mafia ... or some of them did, and didn't see fit to say "Drain, take your AMHINT and stuff it. We've got this thing pretty well

* See pp. 279-281.

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covered." What I would love now [is] to see an outline of AMHINT.* 13/

About the same time that the AMHINT program was mentioned,

WH/4 apparently was involved in a disinformation action where reports of an attempt to assassinate Che Guevara were to be directed at Cuba from the CIA controlled radio transmitter on Swan Island.

The WH/4 Propaganda Notes for 27 February 1961 mentioned that:

"I. phoned following line to Wilkinson for Swan . . . (d) Attempted assassination of Guevara." 15/ 58/

In a cryptic entry in his personal notes, Dick Drain indicated that the success of the disinformation ploy would be followed as "CI and D watch Gueverra [sic] assassination attempt." The Counter Intelligence and Division D alert--Division D was responsible for intercepting radio traffic--would have been the most likely way to pick up word of an attempt on Guevara's life. There is no indication that this project was intended to do more than annoy the Cubans, but as suggested, WH/4 would not have objected if the broadcasts had stimulated someone to eliminate Che.

* The author of this history has unsuccessfully tried to track down this particular project. AMHINT was related to the work of the Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil (DRE), an anti-Castro organization inside Cuba. The only evidence that has been found which might have been related to an assassination attempt concerned an AMHINT request of 14 January 1961 for "Silenciadores Rifles de marilla telescopica." (A request for rifles with silencers and telescopic sights.) This might have had to do with a DRE plan to assassinate the Soviet Ambassador to Cuba rather than a plan to kill Castro. When the FOB in Miami heard about the plan against the Soviet official they "immediately sent ... [word] to AMHINT-1 forbidding planned 'atentado' [assassination]." 14/

attempt" then the comment from Chief of Operations appears eminently sensible, for Counter-Intelligence and Division D (which was responsible for intercept traffic) would be the two most likely sources to pick up information should an attempt be made on Guevara's life -- particularly since such an item probably would not be reported overtly by the Cuban press or radio.

One final item which was surfaced during the course of research concerning the possibility that WH/4 had actually included an assassination program as part of its operational planning concerns a carbon copy identified only as "Must Go List." The single sheet of unknown provenance lists and identifies in the following order eleven individuals:

Che Guevara - Minister of Industries
 Raul Castro Ruz - Chief of Cuban Armed Forces, and wife, Vilma Espin de Castro
 Blas Roca - International Communist leader and Secretary General of Communist Party
 Ramiro Valdez Menendez - Minister of Interior (G-2)
 Carlos Olivares - Deputy Foreign Minister
 Carlos Raphael Rodriguez - Communist leader, editor of newspaper HOY
 Lazaro Pena - Communist leader - labor movement
 Abelardo Colome - Deputy in G-2
 Captain Rogelio Acevedo - Chief of Militia
 Anibal Escalante - Communist leader
 Armando Hart Davalos - Minister of Education, and wife, Haydee Santamaria de Hart

Pencilled in on the bottom of the paper is a note:

"List forwarded E. L. by C/WH/4 in Nov [1960]."* When

* A copy of the list follows p. 287. The list should read Armando, rather than Armando, Hart.

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asked if he could identify the "Must Go List" the former Chief of WH/4 stated:

Well, I know all these people ... Some of them I know personally, like Armando Hart ... I entertained Hart in my home a number of times ... the miserable bastard. I have never seen that list in my life, but this is the whole top gang at that time. Now many of them were later eliminated from the power structure by Castro, and by Raul Castro ... They got rid of Olivares, and Roca was pushed aside ... Armando Hart was also half nuts at this point, and he still is. I guess he is still fairly prominent, but he is not really in the power structure. Abelardo Colome -- I don't even know who he is. I wish to help you, but I don't know. 17/

The former Chief of Operations for WH/4, in response to the question of whether the "Must Go List" meant anything to him, replied as follows:

No! Huh! "List forwarded E. L. by Chief WH/4" ... Eddie Lansdale ... E. L. would be Eddie Lansdale. Chief, WH/4 was Jacob D. Esterline. In November, I was there ... No "Big Daddy." Well, whether this "Must Go" is in terms of the assassination, or in terms ... [of] nobody, none of these people must be allowed to have a role in the new government. I guess "Must Go" came to pass eventually in the case of number one on this list, Che Guevara. Raul ... I myself, contemplating the future government, thought it might be interesting to try to keep Raul in, with Fidel out. Capture what magic there was in the name of Castro, but do it with that little homosexual, instead of with Fidel, the real man. I

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By way of summarizing, it would appear that CIA's total anti-Castro program as reflected in Project did not include assassination as an integral of its operational planning, but would not have adverse to eliminating Castro or other of the leaders if the opportunity had been afforded. On records, however, WH/4's principals were in privy to, or participants in, the Mafia assassination planning at the time of the Bay of Pigs.

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Part VIII

Conclusions

This volume has traced the history of the CIA's official anti-Castro program from its inception in 1959 through the end of the Eisenhower administration in January of 1961. It emphasized that in the initial period when Castro's revolution was taking place, the Agency, reflecting the policies of the US Government, was caught betwixt and between -- to move *with* Castro or to move *against* Castro. Shortly following his takeover, it became clear that Castro had little or no intention -- nor apparently concern -- for establishing cordial relations with the "Colossus of the North." Instead, he turned to the Soviet Union and its allies for military, technical, and economic assistance. It became clear that a new philosophy was being introduced into the Caribbean basin and that this philosophy was directly contrary to the interests of the United States Government and to the governments of many of the Latin American nations, whether democratically governed or governed by dictatorships of the right.

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As Castro's threats became more serious, and as increasing pressures were put on legitimate economic interests of the United States in Cuba, pressures within the United States Government led to a decision that Castro must go. With great concern about the impact any overt, anti-Castro activities by the United States Government would have on the United Nations and on the Organization of American States, it was decided that a covert plan of action would be adopted. This was the officially sanctioned program approved by President Eisenhower on 17 March of 1960. It broadly outlined the political, economic, propaganda, and paramilitary programs which would be implemented in an attempt to oust Fidel Castro. CIA was to be the principal action agent for the bulk of the program.

Once the official US position was announced, CIA made organizational plans to carry out the policy. A separate Task Force within the Western Hemisphere Division was established under the leadership of Jacob D. Esterline, on whose shoulder Col. J. C. King, Chief, Western Hemisphere Division perched and peered. Initial concepts of the Central Intelligence Agency called for a propaganda program to be run out of a radio

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station based on Swan Island and by Agency financed radio operations out of Station WRUL in New York City. Strong support was to be provided for anti-Castro publications launched in the area of Miami. Paramilitary programs initially called for the training of cadres of communicators and paramilitary instructors who would go into Cuba and provide leadership and training for the numerous dissident elements that reportedly were ready to move against Castro.

Unfortunately, however, as the summer of 1960 drew to a close, it became apparent that Castro's military strength and training programs were sharply improving and that the initial plan to infiltrate small teams to organize the dissidents no longer was feasible. Consequently, the concept changed to one of a landing in force, the acquisition of a defensible base in Cuba from which a Provisional Government might call for assistance from the United States Government if the invaders themselves could not arouse sufficient support to force the overthrow of Castro.

This volume emphasized that following his decision in March 1960 that there should be an anti-Castro program, President Eisenhower remained quiescent on the

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question of developments of the anti-Castro program until late in the fall, following the election of 1960 and the defeat of Mr. Nixon. At that time Mr. Eisenhower reinjected himself into the program and stimulated action to the point where some of CIA's planners hoped that -- in addition to the propaganda program which was already underway -- paramilitary operations might be initiated. Apparently this was feared by Castro, too, for in his famous TV broadcast on the Bay of Pigs he said:

When our country was in danger of direct aggression and mobilized itself, it waited for the [Kennedy] presidential inauguration thinking that this man [Kennedy] would do something different, because all in all, we didn't understand why a man who assumed the administration of the United States would want to bear the guilt of someone else's mistakes.* 1/

This was not to be, however, for aside from considerable emphasis on the propaganda activity, there was only limited support for sabotage activities prior to the

* Raul Roa, Castro's Foreign Minister charged that in the Eisenhower administration Vice President Nixon and General C. P. Cabell, ADCI, were two of the most vigorous proponents of direct action, with Cabell proposing air and naval protection for the invasion and, if necessary, use of US marines to hold the beachhead. 2/

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end of Eisenhower's administration. There was considerable concern over the necessary formalities of diplomacy in order that the United States not be involved in investigations by either the UN or the OAS for its anti-Castro program.

Because it has been so widely publicized that ex-Vice President Richard Nixon was one of the principals in planning the Bay of Pigs Operation, this volume has attempted to put the role that Nixon played into the proper context. It was the role of an interested senior officer in the Executive Branch, and by no stretch of the imagination could Nixon's role be construed to have had a major impact on the development of operational planning by the Central Intelligence Agency in its anti-Castro effort.

Similarly, because of the sensationalism which surrounded the Senate Select Committee's report on *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, including Fidel Castro and the implications that the Mafia plot was a part of the authorized planning for the Bay of Pigs Operation, thorough examination of the evidence was undertaken to determine if this allegation was supportable. It was not. The Mafia operation was run

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aside from, apart from, and independent of the formal anti-Castro program which was undertaken by CIA. At most, four or five senior officials -- Allen Dulles, Richard Bissell, Shef Edwards, Bill Harvey, and possibly, Tracy Barnes -- probably were knowledgeable about the Mafia connection and Mr. Maheu.

In terms of Project JMATE itself, the few bits of information which indicate the possibility of assassination attempts against the Cuban leadership also fail to demonstrate any responsibility for their initiation on the part of WH/4. If anything, the evidence would indicate that WH/4's position was one of watchful waiting and wishful thinking that dissident Cubans would themselves eliminate the Castros and Che Guevara. The possibility, of course, that Agency-supplied weapons might be involved in such an attempt cannot be ruled out. 3/

Obviously it would be foolish to contend that those principally responsible for developing CIA's anti-Castro program would have objected to the assassination of Fidel Castro. On the other hand, this was not one of the basic concepts nor intentions of the official program of the Central Intelligence Agency.

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